

BY THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES,

JANUARY 11th, 1865.

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. THOMAS SWANN,

GOVERNOR ELECT OF MARYLAND,

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE CHAMBER,

ANNAPOLIS, JANUARY 11TH, 1865.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Delegates:

The third section of the second article of the new Constitution, adopted September 6th, 1864, and ratified by the people on the 12th and 13th of October last, provides that "the Governor shall qualify in the manner herein provided, on the second Wednesday in January ensuing his election, or as soon thereafter as may be practicable." It further provides that "the Governor chosen at the first election under this Constitution, shall not enter upon the discharge of the duties of his office until the expiration of the term for which the present incumbent is elected, unless the said office shall become vacant by death, resignation, removal from the State, or other disqualification of said incumbent." In accordance with the former of these requirements of your organic law, I am here to-day to take the oath of office, as the first occupant of the Gubernatorial chair elected under your free Constitution.

In these halls, around which cluster so many of the proudest memories of the past, we are assembled to inaugurate a era in the history of Maryland. It is no unmeaning ceremony which brings you here. The institution of slavery, so long the blight of your free system, has ceased to exist within your borders. An enfranchised State — holding position in the centre of more than one thousand miles of our Atlantic coast — bound to the great and populous States of the West and Northwest by gigantic lines of intercommunication—the result, in part, of your own capital and enterprise—claims at this time, more than at any former period, the united wisdom of her rulers, her legislators and her people. To the present able officer at the head of your Government, as well as to his

successor, you have assigned the duty of digesting and preparing the work which is to engage your attention in this new field of labor; and upon you will devolve the not less responsible duty of co-operation in its practical development and prompt and vigorous execution.

The time for embittered party feeling has gone by. In resuming relations with those of our fellow-citizens known to be loyal, who, viewing from their own stand point our national as well as State complications, have honestly differed in opinion, we should promptly lay aside the animosities of the past. The flag which floats to-day over this venerable State-House is the only recognized test of honorable brotherhood among those who cherish this noble inheritance of free government. From its enemies alone, we withhold the hand of fellowship. The domestic issues which have divided us have been settled by the authoritative voice of the people. Can we not, then, forget the dissensions and heartburnings of the past, and come together once more, in a spirit of conciliation and harmony, to give our best energies, as one party, to the work of reconstruction and reorganization upon which we are entering with such prospects of admitted and assured success?

The trials through which this country has struggled during the four years which have just elapsed, admonish us that our only safe dependence in the future, as it has proved throughout the changes of this eventful war, is in the steady maintenance of the Union of these States. A nation, nearly equal in extent of territory to the sixty Empires, States and Republics of the Old World—with diverse interests and prejudices, inviting to conflict and jealousy, and fruitful of so many incentives to social and political irritation—can only be held in equilibrium by the fearless exercise of the powers delegated by the people themselves, for the maintenance of the national life. The theory of a Government formed of a combination of States or communities claiming to be alike independent of each other and of the delegated central power—sovereign in their claims of allegiance—and competent of their own motion, to nullify the executive, legislative and judicial functions, upon which it rests, in the plan of its formation, is sufficiently illustrated by the teachings of our past history and the adoption of our present Federal Constitution. In 1784, Richard Henry Lee, then President of Congress, remarked in a letter to Mr. Madison: "It is by many here suggested, as a very necessary step for Congress to take, the calling on the States to form a Convention for the sole purpose of revising the Confederation, so far as to enable Congress to execute with more energy, effect and vigor the powers assigned to it, than it appears by experience they can do under the present state of things." To which Mr. Madison replied: "I should hold it for a maxim, that the Union of these States is essential to

their safety against foreign danger and internal contention, and that the perpetuity and efficacy of the present system cannot be confided in."

The first proposition for a general Convention to revise the defects of the old Confederation originated in this city, and was reported by Colonel Hamilton, as chairman of a committee appointed for that purpose, addressed to the Legislatures of Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, whose Commissioners had assembled in Annapolis pursuant to appointment. The Confederation as it then stood was treated as little more than a league formed by the original States for the common safety in time of war. There was no recognized power of coercion to compel obedience to the governing power indispensable to perpetuate the National life. It was in fact a union without the authority and functions of a National Government. The States, it is true, under the old articles of confederation were not *sovereign*; they were powerless as to the essential elements of sovereignty. They could neither make war, nor alliances, nor treaties. They could not hold communication with any foreign Sovereign, nor could they entertain propositions from any such source. They could exercise no powers offensive or defensive, for they had no recognized right to levy troops or equip vessels of war. But such was not the practical working of the system. The constant apprehension of a tendency towards consolidation, and the oppression of the weaker States, kept alive a spirit of jealousy which greatly embarrassed the early advocates of a National Government. The experience of our revolutionary struggle, the necessity for a limited concentration of power, not only to prevent collision between the States, but to make effective the powers delegated by the people with a view to the permanency of our system, resulted at length in the adoption of our present Federal Constitution:—"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

The objects and purposes of the Federal Union were thus clearly defined. It was the establishment of a *National* system in the place of a mere league of States, with powers directly conferred by the people themselves. The States still existed as components of the National system, but not as unqualified, independent, absolute sovereigns. They had, by the act of their people, deliberately parted with their claims to sovereignty and paramount allegiance. In Congress was vested the power to lay and collect taxes and provide for the common defence and general welfare—to borrow

money—to regulate commerce with foreign nations to declare war—to raise and support armies—to provide and maintain a navy—to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions, together with the other delegated powers enumerated in the Constitution. The disorganizing doctrine of State Rights, claimed by the disciples of the Southern school, become a mere abstraction, unsupported by any color of authority from the Federal compact. There could be no recognized right on the part of any State or combination of States to dissolve a Union thus formed, unless in the mode prescribed by the Constitution itself. The people, and not the States, had made it; and the people alone could decree its dissolution. The Virginia resolutions of 1798, from which the whole theory of State power and State resistance took its growth, had gone no further than to assert a principal common to all civil government, that “in case of the dangerous exercise of powers not granted by the General Government, the States may interfere to prevent the progress of the evil.” The right of peaceful remonstrance within the Constitution could not admit of doubt, and such was the interpretation of the doctrine as understood by Mr. Madison, the reputed author of the resolutions.

With this theory of our Government well understood, the Southern States—without just cause—without provocation—without even the pretext of encroachment upon their reserved rights—commenced the desolating war in which we are now engaged. South Carolina—wearied of Republican government, and demoralized by the ruin brought upon her by the withering effects of slavery, which she was not too blind to see, was fast falling into decay under the pressure of an enlightened public opinion and the frowns of the civilized world—was thrust forward to give embodiment to a heresy which had been announced upon the floor of the Senate, by her accredited leader in 1830. The glory of applying the match to the first gun fired upon Sumpter was generously accorded to an aged citizen of a sister State, who, forgetting her own Revolutionary history, and the patriotic admonitions of her great progenitor, stood ready to accept the doubtful compliment. That hoary-headed old man—just ready to step into eternity, lifting the flaming torch in the face of God himself—performed the office of love, and awaited with composure the effect of the reverberation which his own madness—stimulated by reckless and designing demagogues—had wickedly precipitated. It was the first act in the drama of this bloody war. It was the uplifted arm of unprovoked rebellion against the best and freest government on earth. When we look upon the field of carnage and desolation which it has since caused; when we contemplate the untold num-

bers that have fallen victims in this strife; cities in flames; homesteads sacked; lands laid waste; penury and starvation usurping the abodes of affluence and comfort; the old and infirm flying in despair before the ravages of contending armies; the very foundations of free government shaken to their base—we turn with horror from the just penalty which their wickedness has provoked.

The heresy of State Rights furnished the excuse, but not the cause, for this rebellion. The institution of slavery, dating its origin from the early settlement of the colonies, sustained by the sanction of the British Crown, in the encouragement held out to the African slave trade, had become a dangerous element of power as far back as the date of the Federal Constitution. The Slave States came into the Union on condition that its existence should be recognized; and it has heretofore received the protection of the laws. It continued to flourish and increase under the countenance thus accorded to it. Such was the growth of its power that it engrossed the legislation of Congress from the date of the Missouri Compromise to the breaking out of the rebellion. Not content with the triumphs which it had achieved, and the guards thrown around it from time to time, it sought admission into the Territories subjected to the National control, and even threatened the peace of contiguous and friendly Powers in the effort to enlarge the area of its influence. But the guarantees of the Constitution were becoming every day more and more impotent to withstand the progressive developments of the age. Slavery had no disinterested advocates on either side of the Atlantic. The Southern States viewed with alarm these evidences of inherent and certain decay. They clamored for new guarantees. The Union was a failure, because the Union could not protect slavery in its defiant and aggressive policy. The doctrine of Secession gave them hope of formidable combinations, and eventually a stronger and more absolute government. They threw themselves upon their assumed theory of State Rights, in the vain expectation that twenty millions of freemen, banded together in the interest of republican institutions would suffer the destinies of a whole continent and the last hope of free government to be thwarted by an effort to conciliate three hundred thousand owners of slave property, claiming the absolute control over more than four millions of bondmen. In the attempt to obstruct the march of civilization and progress—to provoke causeless dissension, and to ignore the natural impulses of Christian philanthropy, they have brought ruin—hopeless ruin—upon the institution, which it was their object to perpetuate by waging war upon the Constitution and Government from which they had received protection in the past, and to which alone they could look for safety in the future.

Maryland at no time lost sight of her plain line of duty. Identical with the Border Slaveholding States in the character of her domestic institutions, and especially the institution of slavery, she had fraternized with them in commercial interchange, in social sympathy, and the results of an extensive intermarriage among her people. Her commanding position on the Chesapeake Bay offering unrivalled facilities, and intercepting the trade of a vast section of Southern territory, with a climate singularly adapted to the storage and distribution of their staple articles of production, pointed to her chief commercial city as the undisputed mistress of these prospective sources of wealth, and the entrepot of the exports and imports which were destined to follow the growth of Southern development. Her material interests might be claimed as centering south of Mason and Dixon's line. But Maryland was an integral of a great political system. Had she been less patriotic and self-sacrificing she might have shared the fate of her more thoughtless and impulsive sisters. Overwhelmed by caresses in the early stages of this rebellion, she stood unshaken amidst the glittering temptations that were held out to her to wean her from her allegiance. Anxious always to cast her lot with Virginia, in firm reliance upon her tried loyalty in the past, she turned away in disgust when she saw the Mother of States buckling on the armor of rebellion. In the fierce conflicts which have marked our past history, Maryland has stood as a moderator between the sections. When the rebellion broke out she was called to decide between slavery and the Union, and she determined to cast her lot with the Union. There she stands to-day, and there she will stand forever.

There are many who believe, and not without reason, that the chief instigators of the deluded masses of the South now engaged in this war, before and since the rebellion broke out, desired a change in their form of government. The leaders—I will not say the people—saw at an early day that the protection which had been extended to slavery under the Federal Constitution was not sufficient, in the midst of events which were every day occurring, to guard it against the steady march of civilization and christianity. They could not shut their eyes to the reality that the institution was fast tottering to its ruin. They needed a more absolute and despotic rule, and more stringent and peremptory laws to accomplish the safety which they so much desired. And hence they have struggled, since the days of Mr. Calhoun, to provoke a misunderstanding which would lead to a dissolution of the Union and the erection in their own section, of a government better suited to their wants. They required new guarantees for the protection of slavery, and under whatever pretext they are now moving, their misguided people may find, when it is too

late, that every vestige of power has been wrested from them, and has passed beyond recall from the hands of the many to the few.

The developments which have already taken place are not without their significance. The monarchies of the Old World have uniformly fraternized with the people of the South. They are awaiting with hope and anxiety the disintegration and ruin of our National system, that intervention may find its excuse, and that with the sympathy and co-operation of the Southern oligarchy, they may arrest the spread of free principles by imposing the same form of government upon the South which they have already established upon the soil of a sister republic.

The present Federal Executive came into office, as we all know, in accordance with the prescribed forms of the Constitution. He was duly elected by the people. He had claimed no interference or encroachment upon the rights of any of the States. He had made no war upon the institution of slavery. He came into power with the honest and avowed purpose to uphold the Constitution and faithfully execute the laws. During the early stages of his administration—before the rebellion assumed the proportions which it has since reached—he would have sealed a treaty with the Southern States to protect slavery if confined within the limits of the States were it then existed. But this did not satisfy the South. They desired to extend it beyond these limits; they claimed to enlarge the circle of its power; and upon this point, the President entertained views identical with those of Henry Clay, who declared that no earthly consideration would induce him to propagate slavery into any State or Territory where it had not already been recognized by law. As the rebellion progressed—involving so much of irritation and embittered feeling—slavery became every day more and more odious. The issue soon passed from the control of the President into the hands of the people. The blood of our gallant soldiers, falling by thousands and tens of thousands in this unnatural strife, appealed to the sympathies of loyal men throughout the land. The Fugitive Slave Law became a dead letter upon the statute book. Attempts were made to execute it, but signally failed. The President no longer able to resist the current of popular indignation, threw himself upon its surging billows to control it as best he might. In dealing with so grave and delicate a subject his action was marked by cautious and matured deliberation. Failing to execute the Fugitive Slave Law, he made an appeal to Congress in the interest of gradual emancipation with compensation by the Government. That proposition was not received with favor by the representatives of the Border Slaveholding States, in whose behalf it was especially conceived; and he was again left powerless in the midst of

complications, which only the people could control. Whatever may have been the effect of the measures which have since been adopted, and the confusion resulting from the prompt abolishment of slavery in Maryland, the responsibility rests with the leaders and sympathizers with the rebellion, and not with the President. The people had referred to slavery all the evils under which they were suffering, and they decreed its downfall as the only means of restoring peace and harmony to our distracted country. The Proclamation of Emancipation came next in order. It was the embodiment of an overwhelming popular sentiment, as proved by the result of the Presidential election, and the unmistakable endorsement of the policy of the Administration. The people of the South had thrown themselves upon their slaves to cultivate their lands, to build their fortifications and to disencumber their white population, in order to release them for active service in the field. The use of the slave was an element of strength to the rebel cause, which no rule of civilized warfare would have permitted to pass unnoticed. The Proclamation of Emancipation, irrespective of the influence which it was calculated to exert in strengthening our relations with foreign Powers, was simply the dictate of a military necessity. What would have been thought of the President, even by those who adhere to the miserable heresy of State Rights—those who claim that the Government has no power to bring back a State to her allegiance—if, seeing the ruin which was impending over the country and the cause of human freedom, he had failed to use every means at his disposal to paralyze a dangerous element of power which was being used to break up and destroy the Government? It was the fair and legitimate exercise of his war power as the military head of the nation—it was a duty which he owed to his high position and to the people of the United States, not only to override that obstruction in the great pathway of our destiny, but to avail himself of every other honorable means to strike down this wicked rebellion. In this connection—keeping in view the destiny of this mighty Republic—the dignity of our free institutions, and the duty of securing to ourselves and our posterity the results of an unclouded future—I may be permitted to express the opinion, as the result of my own deliberate judgment—that whether it be accomplished by the President's Proclamation of Emancipation, or by the Act of Congress amending the Constitution as proposed at its last session, the *institution of slavery must cease to exist throughout the length and breadth of this land, as our only hope of securing an honorable and lasting peace.* If slavery is permitted to live, this great nation, sooner or later, must prepare to meet the penalty in its own destruction.

The prompt abolition of slavery in Maryland resulted, as a necessity, from the attitude in which she found herself

placed by the rebellion. Her first duty was to the Government in saving the National life; and subordinate to this was her duty to her own people in maturing a system of domestic organization suited to the transition through which she was passing.

Scarcely a year had elapsed after the war commenced before the institution of slavery in Maryland became utterly demoralized. The master lost all control over his slave. The relation between master and slave existed only as a feature in the legislation of the past. There was no power to compel obedience and submission on the part of the slave, and there was no standard which could be appealed to as fixing the value of the slave as property. Maryland was neither a Slave nor a Free State. All her great interests were at a stand still. In this emergency the duty of prompt action became imperative, and even the advocates of gradual emancipation, upon the President's recommendation, found themselves powerless in the midst of the claims of a higher State necessity, which demanded the prompt abatement of the evil. There was no desire to interfere with the rights of property; but the duty of the majority to provide for the common welfare, was a principle recognized in all Democratic Governments, and no claim of vested rights in slave property could protect the institution against the contingencies of a war into which we had been forced by the hand of this rebellion, and which affected; in greater or less degree, every other public and private interest. While compensation was beyond the ability of the State, the duty was not the less incumbent to abate a nuisance which obstructed all the avenues to agricultural, manufacturing and commercial development.

¹ The history of the past abundantly shows that slavery has conferred no benefit upon Maryland. It has been a stumbling block in the way of her advancement. The same is true of all the agricultural or grain-growing States. Her people have felt the effect of its degrading influence, and her growth has been retarded by exclusion from her borders of both capital and population. *The State of Maryland at this time represents a larger aggregate of productive capital—notwithstanding the loss of her whole slave population—as the immediate and practical result of her Proclamation of Emancipation, than she has ever done at any former period of her history.*

The ultimate destiny of the African race is not a problem for our solution. It is our responsibility that we have stricken the shackles from the hands of every bondman within our limits, and left to an all-wise Providence the disposal of future events. When this war commenced, Maryland comprised within her borders, in an aggregate population of 187,000 souls, more than 80,000 slaves. They had been

trained in the pursuits of agriculture. The cultivation of the soil depended upon their labor. It is not difficult to foresee, in view of the change in the relations heretofore existing, that the near proximity of the two races at some future day may not prove advantageous to either. It cannot be expected that the negro will confine himself to the rural districts, or be content with the limited sphere in which he has heretofore moved. Education will improve and elevate his condition, but cannot erase the distinctive lines which have separated him from the white man. History furnishes no example to guide us in dealing with a subject of such grave magnitude. Anticipating the ultimate triumph of freedom, our forefathers at an early period began to make preparation for the crisis through which we are now passing. The plan of colonizing upon the coast of Africa—by voluntary emigration—under a stable government, the negro population made free by the gradual progress of Christian philanthropy, attracted the attention of some of our ablest statesmen. The separation of the two races under a system which would ensure both social and political equality, exercised a controlling influence in support of this plan, even before the subject had assumed its present proportions, now that the downfall of slavery is about to throw upon us to be provided for more than four millions of this unfortunate race, whose homes have heretofore been in our midst. It is not my purpose to enter at this time upon the discussion of plans which have baffled the wisdom of the highest statesmanship. The President is understood to have favored the acquisition, under National auspices, of a tract of territory suited to the habits of the negro race, where the nucleus of a Commonwealth may be at once commenced, with reference to the probable contingencies which are likely to occur hereafter. Such a recommendation would seem to commend itself, by the duty which we owe to both races, as a protection against jealousies which may be expected to arise, and the collisions unavoidable, in any attempt to amalgamate elements—so widely separated in natural characteristics—from each other. Whatever may be the embarrassments which may be expected to result from both our National and State policy in wiping out forever the blight which has so long hovered over us, it furnishes no sufficient argument for hesitation or delay in ridding ourselves at once of an admitted evil, and dealing with it, from time to time, as opportunities occur, according to the best lights which may be furnished in the working of our system. For years to come the labor of the colored race in Maryland may be profitably and advantageously employed. To elevate their condition, to deal kindly with their weaknesses, and to prepare them for any possible change which, in the providence of God, may be their lot in the future, would be the appropriate and generous impulse, not less than the recognized duty, of Christian men.

The subject of National compensation to the slaveholder, suggested by the resolution of the President "that the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change," is not the least important of the objects which will claim your attention. While I should not feel authorized to assume that the productive capital of the State of Maryland has been permanently diminished by the acceptance of the invitation thus held out to the Border Slaveholding States in the prompt abolishment of slavery, it cannot be denied that the measure has been attended with a degree of individual suffering which makes the strongest appeal to the liberality of Congress. The expediency of National aid in promoting emancipation, occupied the attention of some of the ablest men in Virginia long before this rebellion broke out, and it was deemed no more than just that the Free States should share with them, in the event of the adoption of a policy of emancipation—the burthens necessarily attending in the commencement a radical change in their system of labor. Property in slaves has been widely distributed among nearly all classes of our citizens, and where the landholder may represent his loss, consequent upon the effect of emancipation, by the appreciated value of his lands, there are others not so fortunately situated, who will suffer the total extinguishment of their capital. The prompt action of the State of Maryland in taking the lead in this great movement, regardless of consequences to her own citizens, in her desire to serve the Government at an important and trying crisis, gives her a claim, under the resolution of the President, which would seem to be both just and equitable, and, at the same time, altogether conclusive. Apart from the pledge contained in the resolution—resting upon the good faith of Congress—it may be stated that the free States, during the progress of this rebellion have not only been removed, in a large degree, from its immediate ravages, but have substantially profited by the increased activity of their manufacturing industry; and the heavy disbursements of the public money within their limits. They can well afford to co-operate in any reasonable measure of appropriation in consideration of the great benefits likely to result, in a National point of view, from the extinguishment of slavery—which may be required in averting the "inconveniences, public and private," which may fall to the lot of the Border Slaveholding States. A majority of the people of Maryland had made up their minds to abolish slavery under any circumstances, and without prospect of compensation; but the offer of indemnity having been made by Congress before any action on her part, she may well claim, as an act of good faith to her citizens,

that the terms of the resolution introduced by the President and concurred in by Congress, should be complied with at some convenient season. The capital represented by the slave population of Maryland before the war broke out amounted to more than thirty-five millions of dollars at the then existing and recognized standard of valuation. In any view which may be entertained of its actual productiveness, it may be inferred, how many and large interests must have become involved with it, and how serious the temporary inconvenience occasioned by the withdrawal at once of so large a working capital. In reply to the argument that the offer of Congress was formerly rejected by the representatives of the Border Slaveholding States, it may be claimed that the first and only authorized response of the people of Maryland to the offer of Congress was the abolishment of slavery, in accordance with the terms of the resolution. It may be that the pressure upon the National finances, caused by the heavy demands of the war, may delay somewhat the liquidation of claims growing out of the unavoidable destruction of property both public and private, but I entertain the hope that the amplest justice will be accorded to the citizens of Maryland at some not distant day.

In connection with the great future which Emancipation has opened to the State of Maryland, it must not be lost sight of that our finances must be viewed, at all times, as forming the ground work of her domestic prosperity. The New Constitution has wisely incorporated a provision of the old, in affixing a limit to any further increase of our funded debt, except for purposes of defence. This provision, under any circumstances, conservative in protecting the interests of the general tax-payer, is eminently so now that our system of internal improvements is so near complete as to require no longer the helping hand of the public treasury, by forced expansions of the State credit. Maryland has not been wanting in the past in the fostering support which she has extended to her public works; and the returns flowing into her coffers, notwithstanding the large appropriations which have proved unproductive, may be claimed as creditable to her past legislation. Nor is the use of her credit to be measured, in its practical results, by the apparent unproductiveness of specific enterprises. The ability of the people to meet taxation depends upon the activity and vigor of her whole system. Agriculture, commerce and manufactures, receive their impetus from liberal and timely development, not unfrequently, as in the case of Maryland, beyond the compass of individual capital and enterprise. In this view the apparent losses which may be inferred from the absence of direct returns, are often more than counterbalanced by increased facilities of transit, by the creation of convenient and profitable markets,

and by opening up new fields of labor and industry, thus indirectly contributing to the productive capital and financial ability of the State. In thus limiting the measure of our permanent indebtedness, the Constitution, however, designed no more than that every measure of appropriation hereafter should be regulated by the actual standard of accruing revenues, and the willingness of the people to submit to additional taxation. Maryland is yet in the infancy of her growth. It is not to be expected that her plans of development may not demand renewed efforts on her part in extending the most liberal aid to the industry and enterprise of her people. On the contrary, experience shows that her future, apart from the advantages of her equable climate, central position and close proximity to the National Metropolis, may be made to exceed the calculations deduced from the statistics of the free States. Her area exceeds that of Massachusetts by nearly four thousand square miles, while her present population is less by nearly one hundred inhabitants to the square mile.—In aggregate wealth there is the same striking disparity.—To obviate the causes which have led to this drawback, the first step has been taken in the prompt abolishment of slavery. The pressing need of the State of Maryland has been the want of both capital and labor in all the departments of industry, caused by the prejudice everywhere existing, not only among our own people in other States, but the emigrant laboring classes from abroad seeking a home upon our shores, against any contact with negro slavery. The results of the census of 1860 show how little the State has advanced beyond the slow results of her own direct and natural increase. Millions of unproductive capital await your development—in your unoccupied lands, unsurpassed in fertility and ease of cultivation—your minerals, certainly not equalled in extent or variety by those of any other State—your water power and other facilities for manufacturing—the products of your noble bay and rivers, which even our own people have been slow to estimate as they deserve, in connection with the financial power of the State—and not the least important, your climate and geographical position. Whatever encouragement may be needed to hasten your plans of foreign emigration, to bring into immediate and practical use these hitherto dormant sources of wealth, cannot fail, under judicious and economical management, to increase rather than diminish the available resources flowing into the public Treasury. Population will bring capital, and the undoubted attractions which only now, since Maryland has become a free State, begin to awaken inquiry beyond her own limits, will not only infuse new vigor into your finances, but place Maryland in a position, if not the most advantageous and attractive, at least unsurpassed by that of any of her more attractive sisters.

The duty of the State of Maryland to extend, at all times, the amplest protection to her own citizens, is not to be overlooked in the views which I am presenting. The desecration of her soil by an invading army must always be a source of mortification to her pride, especially when such contingencies may be guarded against by timely legislation. There have been periods during the rebellion when her agriculture has been suspended, her citizens driven from their homes, the homestead of her highest functionary ruthlessly outraged and burned to the ground, and her chief commercial city with its millions of treasure, subjected to the mercy of a mere handful of irresponsible adventurers. This must not be. The State of Maryland is able to protect herself against the recurrence of similar attempts in the future. It is with satisfaction that I have witnessed the zeal and ability with which preparations have been made to place our State under a through, competent and vigorous military organization. I can only promise that no co-operation on my part shall be wanting in keeping alive a spirit which cannot fail, whether in peace or war, to protect our citizens against insult, and to redound to the credit of our beloved Commonwealth.

It is not a very agreeable reflection to the State of Maryland, in looking back upon the past, that many of her citizens have entertained, and not unfrequently expressed sympathies with the objects of this rebellion. Such evidences of disaffection at the South have been summarily dealt with heretofore by the offer of the alternative of the oath of allegiance to the so-called "Confederate States," or prompt expulsion beyond their lines. The recognition of such a rule here would doubtless have been received as in the highest degree tyrannical and oppressive. It is hardly reasonable to expect, however, that this Government will permit itself to be sacrificed by those upon whom it has a right to rely, and who have made their election to share the protection of its laws. In standing by the Union, Maryland will know how to discriminate between its friends and enemies, and the time has passed when those who really desire its dissolution will be permitted to make a virtue of their disloyalty, or to claim participation in the political power of the State. Differences of opinion upon National and State politics may exist without treason; but the paramount obligation of loyalty cannot be compromised, and the citizen who turns away from his duty of allegiance to his Government—no matter upon what pretext—forfeits the privileges which it confers, and the protection which attaches to the rights of citizenship.

In presenting these views I have deemed it proper, in the position which I occupy, to confine myself, in the main, to our Federal relations, leaving to your present distinguished Executive and a more fitting opportunity the discussion of the

more extended plans immediately connected with your domestic policy. The States are part and parcel, of your National system. They have prospered under its protecting arm. Dissolved and broken they become at once a prey to that foreign intervention and internal strife against which the Father of his Country warned you in his parting address on resigning the cares of office. This wicked rebellion involves alike the crime of suicide and avowed hatred to the success of republican institutions. The prospect before us already reveals the faint glimmer in the horizon of that brighter dawn which is soon to dazzle the world by its splendor. A few weeks, or a few months, may close this drama of human folly in the complete triumph of free principles. The old flag represents to-day every State and every acre of our National domain. In approaching this new epoch and the solemn duties which it imposes, Maryland—regenerated Maryland—rising to the dignity and proportions of her great future, will see cause to bless the occasion when, taking the lead of her sister slaveholding States, she clothed herself in the unstained robes of Freedom.

